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ABSTRACT

Theoretical models of social structure are analyzed in light of modern work patterns, social affiliations, and social attitudes. It is hypothesized that previous paradigms for society were based on classic theory which analyzed the then emergent forms of social structure and relationships. Because social structures and relationships have changed, the paper questions whether these theories are still valid. Classical developmental models examined are based on ideal type communal comparisons (tribal networks and feudal societies), and social structures shaped primarily by an economic rationality (capitalism, industrialization, and mechanization). The role of work, employer/employee relationships, economic values, and responsibility of society to the masses in pre-industrial and technological societies are compared. Findings indicated that many of the most influential factors affecting modern social structures and relationships were either absent or relatively unimportant in earlier societies. Among these factors are alienation, lack of meaningful work, inability to control the environment, replacement of workers by machines, increasing pressures on the economy, decline of real income of middle and lower class workers, and exclusion of the majority from meaningful decision making and social usefulness. The conclusion is that new and different methods of analysis are necessary to explain new forms of social relationships. (DB)

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ALIENATION AND THE ONTOLOGY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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ALIENATION AND THE ONTOLOGY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

by

RALPH SEGALMAN

This paper seeks to integrate some ontological models of social structure with some major factors relating to mass social acceptance or rejection of the structure. It indicates that previous paradigms for society were based on classic theory which analyzed the then emergent forms of social structure and relationships. The paper indicates that a new form of social relationships is now appearing for which new and different methods of analysis will be required.

A variety of classical developmental models have been offered for societal examination. Toennis provided a gemeinshaft and geselischaft communal comparison which is generally accepted in historical and contemporary community analysis. These are "ideal types." In the former, relationships are, in the main, personal, informal, traditional, sentimental, and general. In the latter, relationships are generally impersonal, formal and contractual, utilitarian, realistic and specialized. Examples of the former would include the tribal networks of England of the Thirteenth Century and the feudal communities which succeeded them. Gibbs (and others) describe the former as interrelated, familial, patriarchal, with a "kindred" social, economic, marital, martial, legal and ritual organizational pattern.

The feudal communities took the form of manors, in which the secular or religious landlord exacted "charges" (labor) shares of the estate land which were tilled by the peasantry. (Gibbs, Byrne, Mueller, Bloch and Winick) In this society there existed varying statuses for land users and residents ranging from legal "freeholders" to serfs. Under this social structure, in return for the "fealty," labor crop assessments, rentals and military service, when necessary, the landlord was responsible for protection

of the population, their property, legal "order" and other leadership and patronary services. The individual in the gemeinschaft community found meaning in his location in the society, in his relationships with other members with whom he had a strong social bond and in the beliefs and values held in common with his neighbors.

The Gesellschaft was a societal structure shaped primarily by an economic rationality. (See Loomis re Weber's "Zweckrationalem") In the Gesellschaft belief necessarily was submissive to critical, objective and universalistic standards as they related to the evolving economic realities of the "market-place." Norms of affective neutrality gave economic values a priority in the behavior of participant populations.

The Gesellschaft form of society was integrated with the "Protestant-Ethic" formulation of behavioral norms and sanctions, described by Weber. This encompassed almost the entire "life-space" of the population. (Weber 1930) Within this complex of community structure and dynamics, the expansive pattern of "capitalism" was developed, so that the basic market-place community model and the entrepreneur dominated social-economic and religious norms cannot be readily unravelled. Weber, (1947), LePlay, Mueller, Bucher and others describe the operational dynamics of the expansive capitalist social mechanism.

The "Gesellschaft society," with time, industrialization, mechanization and increased initial costs of new productive and marketing ventures yielded to a new societal model described as the "technological society." (Ellul) The individual in the gesellschaft found meaning in the work of his hands and in the products of his occupation.

Levenstein believes that individuality itself simply cannot exist without a structured community in which meaningful work and jobs have an

important role. He states that "our freedom to be ourselves depends upon our freedom (to) balance work, labor, play and leisure." If people find no basis for their labor they become "kept" and become increasingly powerless and purposeless. Regular employment also provides the person with a sense of involvement in the society, carrying with it a sense of loyalty to the social structure and increases the individual's sense of responsibility for the maintainance of his family and for socially responsible behavior for himself and his family.

Occupations are social roles (Pavelko, p. 3-5). It provides a person with a place in a social matrix. Through one's work, a person gains standing for himself in the society. In pluralist America, unlike age or sex roles, occupational roles are achieved, so that the awarding of an occupational role to a person is a proof of his successful effort in making something of himself. Occupational roles also provide the person with the opportunity to interact with the incumbents of other occupational roles. Thus they provide the worker with a ready-made package of ways of relating to others and to the organized social structure. In earlier forms of social organization, such as in the preindustrial society in which the locale and extended family functioned as the major sources of the individual's identity. In such ascriptive societies, where one lived or the tribe one belonged to defined <u>who one is</u>. In the industrial society there are few viable organic communities in the locales and the extended family has little viability on the contemporary scene. If one does not have a job, one has a real problem in answering the question of "Who am I?". To not have a job is to be dependent on the society, a position parallel to that of the child. To have no work in the society is to be without an occupational role and identity.

Work also serves as a predictor of the person's behavior in his non-work life. What a person does on his work not only tells others what to expect in

terms of his or her behavior off the job, it also indicates the degree to which one can depend upon him or her to support the norms of the society and of the social setting. Thus work is also a factor in social control, in that a person will behave responsibly in the society if he has an emotional and experiential investment in his work and the benefits it brings him.

Work also structures the person's life. It provides a place for a person to go to every work day (when others who are part of the society also go to their work) and it provides a place to come from in a return to one's home or leisure activity. As many unemployed have noted, work provides a preventative process without which a sense of pervasive purposelessness can ensue.

The lack of employment has been related to many other symptoms of dysfunctionality. The high rate of death among the recently retired (Pavelko, p. 220-221), the high incidence of mental illness found among the unemployed and the less employed (Srole, Hollingshead and Redlich), the high rate of suicide among unemployed white males (Powell), the high rate of divorce and marital maladjustment among the unemployed and underemployed (Kephart), the low level of political involvement on the part of the unemployed and underemployed (Selznick and Steinberg), the low level of involvement of the unemployed and underemployed in voluntary organizations (Hagedorn and Labovitz), and other evidences of dysfunctionality and social isolation are proof of the human costs of unemployment. Even a person's physical health is known to be negatively affected by the lack of purposeful employment but because of the complexity of the question there is little conclusive data on the question. Thus the picture of the non-workers of the society is one of isolation from the rest of society, of a variety of self-defeating activities and of a variety of physical and mental disturbances. To accept the condition of non-work as a "given" in the society, no matter how well

intentioned the effort, is to relegate a sizable congery of men, women and children to a complexity of unproductive physical and social depression. As Everett Hughes puts it, work is a person's calling card and price tag in the society. Not to be employable is the equivalent in the culture of becoming "a nobody" and worthless. Raspberry states that joblessness erodes self-respect, "even when social welfare programs see to it that no-one freezes or starves to death." It harshly "limits the dreams and aspirations." It "creates an underclass of non-contributors (and) it is inheritable." "Children of the joblessness get such a poor start, in opportunity and self-respect that (they) are likely to end up jobless as well." Hall concludes that a person's work affects his perceptions, values, thinking and his every day realities.

Thus the lack of work, or the lack of meaningful work, or work which provides an acceptable identity is an important factor in the development of alienation in modern man. Sykes indicates that the lack of meaningful work, deriving from advances in technology has cut people off, one from another and from the value systems they once held dear. Fromm indicates that the advance of technology and complex organization has left many poeple with a sense of helplessness and positive disengagement from the human situation. Blauner indicates that man becomes an object when he is powerless and lacks control, when his role is so specialized that he has become an organizational cog and when he is isolated from a network of personal relations or community so that he senses that he has become only a member in a mass of individuals. In making the transition from a pure gesellschaft to a technological society, he may be relieved of a daily concern for sustenance only to be laden with the alienation of the machine society. The drift from gesellschaft to technological society is irreversible (Ellul).

"Urban industrial civilization spreads literacy, increases longevity,

raises the standard of living--while it packs people into cities that are neither governable nor habitable," according to Ellul. Weber, in his essay on "Budgetary Management and Profit-Making" pointed to the development of a separation in industry between ownership and management. This process, of course, became increasingly marked with the expansions of stock arrangements and mechanisms of funding large enterprises. Similarly, a new managerial structure and pyramid was established which de-emphasized individual leadership and placed greater emphasis on corporate teamwork at most levels. (Whyte, Harrington, Druker 1946, Druker 1967, Galbraith, Eells, and others)

Along with these changes, there occurred a change in the "way of life" of the "managerial team." Previously, capital was carefully gathered and preserved for further undertakings by the family concern or partnership. With expansion, industrialization, and separation of ownership from management, a concommittant development is the use of affluence as another resource in managerial control of upper echelon personnel and in enhancement of the "corporate image." Thus, Veblen's commentary on the slackening of acquisition and accumulation and the use of consumption as a mechanism for attainment and maintenance of "respectability" is particularly applicable to macro-corporate policy. (Veblen) Similarly, the involvement of the "corporate man's" family as a factor in his corporate advancement and status clearly set the stage for suburban life separated by distance as well as status from other levels of employees. (Reisman)

With increasing industrialization, conglomeration, automation, cybernation and narrowly centralized funding, a new phase in corporate development occurs. At some point the corporation becomes as Scott Buchanan describes it,

> the collective bidder, not only of the machines and the factories, but also of the craft guild, the factor company, and the giant corporation itself. By contracts, licenses, and franchises that attach to chartered bodies for the buying of raw materials, the selling of products, and the

> hiring of workers and managers, we all contract ourselves into the technological system. We have become socialized into the building process, and we are not sure whether we are masters or slaves of the resulting organization.

Buchanan thus believes that the corporation has a pattern of an amoeba but the size of a whale, with a confused collection of fissions and fusions in the place of differentiated organs. Thus, he states that the parts of corporations often have strong oligarchic controls but weak interconnections.

As long as each subdivision provides profit and growth, the practice is to allow it to develop almost autonomously. (Buchanan) Ferry indicates a "sense of irresponsibility and anonymity that goes with working in large organizations. (Ferry, 1959) He also describes the macrocorporations as "a riskless and seemingly eternal organization, dominating the public (by means of mass media and other mechanisms) and (the) personal lives of thousands of people and institutions, possessing the power to tax and make other political decisions, and devoted to the welfare of its constituents. . . ." (Ferry, 1960) According to Ferry the above reflects the definition of a sovereign government, and little access is available to employees, the stockholders, the public and even various levels of the management for involvement in the direction of the "colossus." Thus, Berle seems justified in describing a shift from individual possessory holdings into power systems, not as a result of "villainy of conspiring men, but as an evolvement of institutional, social, and economic development." (Berle) In recent years the sweep has escalated to the point where it is almost impossible to disentangle the interconnections between macro-corporations, governmental departments, control commissions and other institutions. (Green, Bell 1973) Thus, a macrocorporation may be interlocked in a tryst with a defense production program from which it could not in terms of economic viability, withdraw, despite the irrationality of collective corporate participation in the stockpiling of an

escalating international arms production race. The same inability to direct the corporate emphasis exists in terms of its own pollution control and other practices which may be profitable for the corporation but dysfunctional for all the corporations, their personnel, owners and the public.

Unlike the governmental units it resembles, the macrocorporation must needs always obey the rule of profit--namely, that deficits may not be incurred in behalf of its retainers. (Watts and Free) A society dominated by a highly centralized core of macrocorporations has been aptly described as "the drifting society" by Etzioni. In Etzioni's typology, societies may be classified as follows: a. Passive Societies: a type approximated by many undeveloped countries, low in control and consensus-building; b. Overmanaged Societies: those whose control capacities are less deficient than their consensus-building mechanisms, a type approximated by totalitarian states; c. Drifting Societies: a type approximated by capitalistic democratic societies; and generally in terms of control and consensus-building activity, less capable than is required for stability and purposeful direction; d. Active Societies: a type which is effective in both realms, and thus a "future system" or societal design.

The passive society has much in its favor. The movie "Nanuck of the North" presents us with a view of an individual in such a society who must learn and use a variety of skills, techniques and survival competencies. One mistake would be tantamount to death. The complex industrial machine, on the other hand, provides thousands of places for the less competent, the unskilled, the self-defeating and indecisive neurotics and inwardly turned individuals who can and do survive through little or no effort of their own. Thus the technological (cum welfare state) society breeds the seeds of its own dysfunctional elements and its alienated apartheid inner-rebellious population segments. By temporarily "paying off" the alienated non-participants

or low participants it perpetuates and procrastinates on major population problems which are tied to overpopulation, norm attenuation and dissolution of the norm of reciprocity without which social cohesion becomes problematic.

An overview of the models of society, described in this paper appears in Table I.

Kaufman states that "the idea of alienation is a very old one . . .(to) be traced back to the beginnings of recorded thought" and apparently inevitably present in all societies. Lang provides a definition which indicates "estrangement or separation between parts or the whole of the personality and significant aspects of the world of experience." This may denote an objective state of estrangement, or a state of feeling of estrangement or a motivational state tending toward estrangement.

The separation above may exist between the self and the outer world, or between the self and aspects of the self placed against the self, e.g.,--alienated labor. (Lang)

Schacht deals in detail with the alienation conceptualizations of various scholars including Hegel, Fichte, Schiller, Schelling, Marx, Fromm, Horney, Seeman, Merton, Kenniston, Aiken and Hage, Schaar, various existentialists and others. As he compares them, he rejects a multidimensional definition because of inadequate mutuality of content in the definitions. He views alienation only as a general, non-theoretical term, analogous to "separation." Schacht also considers the term of "anomie," as described by Durkheim, Morton and others, and concludes that it clearly refers both to a structural or cultural societal condition and its effect upon members of that society. He believes that the terms anomie and alienation require differential treatment. Schacht indicates that alienation is associated with a lack of self-productivity, self-expression, submission to one's products, self-exploitation, social isolation, lack of solidarity, conformity, indistinctiveness of personality,

THE MODELS OF SOCIETY TABLE 1

Form of Society	Valued Commodity	Relationship of Subordinate to Superordinate	Societal Expectation of Subordinate Behavior	Relationship of Subordinate to Subordinate	Responsibility of the Society to "mass"
Tribal Society "The Society of Elders"	Survival of the tribe and its members	Family Loyalty	Active both In production and in decision-making	Active--a symbiotic relationship. An elite based upon age, experience family status, etc.	Complete: tribe cannot survive without its mass membership
Feudal Society "The Landlord Society"	Land for production of food (and power)	Fealty	Passive in decision making. Active only in production	Active and directive. "noblesse oblige" An elite based upon land ownership	Limited. Dependent upon status power of member and availability of resources
Gesallschaft "The Entrepreneural Society"	Accumulation of capital	Protestant Ethic - responsibility to behave as if one were "saved". "Homo-economicus".	Active. Each man is his own judge in terms of his choices in achieving success.	Passive, except where subordinate is under contract, then active and direct. An elite based on capital.	Generally absent. Each member must look after himself and "his own."
Corporate or Technological Society	Corporate survival and growth	"Social-Ethic-" a loyal, non-controversial adherent and "Homo-consumer-ensis".	Passive in decision making. Passive, or at least, not outstandingly active in pro-	Passive but protective and nurturant, Employees are not pressed as long as they "fit in the picture." An elite based upon managerial control and skill.	Generally a "built-in" protection of its "belongers" and no provisions for others.
Macro-Corporate Society "The Drifting Society"	Macro-Corporate growth-and further conglomeration and diversification.	Employee (in a period of change) shifting from "Social Ethic" to participation in "Power Block Competition, "Individual is protected only if he is a member of a strong power block.	Passive in decision making, except in terms, of defense of one's "power block" where activity is understood as necessary. In production--"showingly" active.	Passive-the macro-corporation is apparently guided by resolution of middle management interaction. An elite based upon control of financial reources of clusters of corporations	Generally, a considerable spectrum of institutional services for belongers remains from past practice. No responsibility for the mass, the general public or what it does to the public. Fewer people are in control and more are provided for, but minimally.

and estrangement from oneself and others. From an analysis of Schact's review it is apparent that alienation alone does not provide a measure by which a ~~verstehen~~ internalization of each of the societal forms may be more clearly understood. Manderscheid, Silbergeld and Dager find that alienation is a response to unmanagable stress encountered by the individual in a setting where he or she is unable to make changes or where perceived acceptable options are unavailable.

Etzioni believes that a society is "active" when it is non-alienating, non-inauthenticating, responsive and productive.

To be so, it must

(1) have societal knowledge distributed and non-secretively,

(2) have a commitment by members to the society's purposes, and this commitment is normative, and

(3) the societal power is widely distributed. (Cochran)

TABLE II

Etzioni Schema of Societal Superstructure

	Claimed Responsiveness by Society	Responsiveness not Claimed by Society
Non-Responsive Treatment of Members by Society	Society not responsive but claims to be responsive. Therefore, condition is inauthentic.	Society not responsive nor does it claim to be responsive. Therefore, condition is alienating.
Responsive Treatment of Members by Society	Society is responsive and claims to be responsive. Therefore, condition is manifestly authentic.	Society is responsive but makes no claims at responsiveness. Therefore, condition is latently authentic.

According to Etzioni, to be alienated is to experience a sense of not belonging and to feel that one's efforts are without meaning. One is faced with a "tall unyielding wall" but it cannot be defined. One experiences guilt due to a sense of sharing in one's own distortion of reality.

Inauthentic structures devote a higher proportion of efforts (than do authentic structures) to conceal their contours and to generating an appearance of responsiveness. To be involved inauthentically is to feel cheated, manipulated, listless in organizational activity, unsatisfied, and detached from reality. One's disaffection focusses on others and one accepts and rejects the same structure coincidentally. (Etzioni)

Utilizing the Etzioni schema, it is possible to develop a comparative analysis of the probable member conditions for each of the societal models. This is presented in Table III.

The transformation of societal structures from tribal to manor to Gesellschaft to industrial to macrocorporate in form, is accompanied by a change of condition from manifest authenticity to inauthenticity. Other related factors, whether transitory or chronic, also enter into the dynamics. These include inflation with a notable shrinkage of real earnings, unemployment with an impact which reaches into the higher levels of social stratification, involvement of mechanisms in governmental projects which produce no observable consumer gains, and growing problems of ecology now clearly perceptable even to the usually unobservant layman. Cochran indicates that "as the industrial economy grew and expanded in the nineteenth century, the economic rewards were practically unlimited for the few who found their way to the top, but too many remained at the bottom." Cochran agrees with Kaplan that employment opportunities will continue to decrease in the market-directed sector of the economy, while productivity will continue to rise at an accellerated rate.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEMBER CONDITIONS (A LA ETZIONI)

UNDER VARIOUS SOCIETAL MODELS
Table III

Form of Society	Superordinate Group	Superordinate Groups	Excluded Groups	Responsiveness Claim of Superordinates	Actual responsiveness of Superordinates to Subordinates	Condition of Society qua Etzioni
Tribal Society	Chief Elders	Members	Usually none Otherwise exiled slaves	Positive	Positive	Manifestly authentic
Feudal Society	Lord or Landlord, Senestuals, Sheriffs	Freeholders, Tenants	Serfs	Positive (Noblesse obiige)	Negative	Inauthentic
Gesellschaft	"Undertaker" Foreman	Workers	Able-Bodied Men non-workers. Alcoholics Debtors	None made	Generally believed to be positive for those who respond to ethic	Alienating for the non-achievers and latently authentic for the achievers
Corporate or Technological Society	High level managerial Personnel	Middle and low level managerial, Foreman and Workers	Non-personnel	Positive	Positive to Managerial staff and less so to others. Negative to outsiders and consumers	Inauthentic to all except managerial personnel
Macro-Corporate Society	The power block leaders	Non-power block company personnel	Workers, stockholders and consumers.	Positive (by advertising-responsiveness message is carried even to consumers)	Positive for a shrinking number of "insiders" negative for others.	With exceptions, growing inauthenticity for a including power block leaders who are themselves no longer able to control their environment without increasing expenditures and energy.

According to Cochran, it is at the distributive level, rather than at the production level, that society's problems are expected to increase. For people to be able to buy goods, they must either be employed or subsidized. According to Cochran's calculations, after consideration of various exemptions, the progressive income tax is, in effect, regressive for lower and middle income levels. This fact added to a trend of necessary increases in local taces, aggravates even more the regressive nature of total taxation. Thus, increasing segments of the massive middle class, referred to by Drucker are pressed by inflation, lowered employment and regressive tax increases. As more of the population formerly sustained by corporate or professional entities are dropped into "exiled" unresponded to "categories," the sense of inauthenticity of the larger society becomes pervasive. Theta predicts that by 1985 robots will replace much human labor in many manufacturing plants.

This problem is not limited to the United States. Richard Titmus (see Weinraub report) indicated that in England and Europe, (both West and East), the gap of income and goods available o the top 15% of the population and not available to the bottom 15% is expanding rapidly. In the same report, John Willis indicates that "the climate of numerous countries in Europe is to encourage people to get rid of the unskilled man, to use (skilled) labor more sparingly, to increase production through plants and machines and to decrease the number of men in the labor force. More and more men are becoming vulnerable." Michael Harrington referred to the current era as "The Accidental Century." A decade previously Gunnar Myrdal described the industrial nations as blind and groping for planned socio-economic development. Corporate economic growth conflicts with rational, national and international survival. (See Myrdal and Hacker) Bennis and Slater state that, "Organizations never refer to it as such, but they are as allergic to identity crises

as adolescents.

> Organizations are never fully 'cured' (of this phenomenon) and may re-experience the anxiety at different phases of . . . development . . . Modern organizations are extremely vulnerable to an identity problem . . . chiefly because rapid growth and turbulence transform and distort the original, more simplified goals." (Bennis)

The macro-corporations and the societies which are their hosts are apparently undergoing such a transformation. Etzioni indicates that resistance may be expected to be high in a society where the means of control utilized are coercive, and considerably lower, where the means of control are utilitarian or even normative. From the analysis presented in Table III, the emerging societal structure is apparently "headed" for a condition of inauthenticity for masses of the population. In such an event, normative support of the society by the population segments under greatest stress can hardly be expected. Given a programmed supportive maintenance plan, a "quid-pro-quo" variation of utilitarian support might be a reasonable expectation.

Recent developments indicate increased pressures for military expenditures (see Barnet) concurrent with continued demands upon world economies for technological and social development. These are coupled with necessary maintainence of a bureaucratic and administrative labyrinth. With growing inflation in the industrial nations, deriving from increased pressures on the economy and continued reluctance of macrocorporations to undertake increased tax burdens, the real income of the middle and lower class workers has entered into decline. Continued pressure for consumption, continued claims of responsiveness by the society and declining real income aggravates the extent and depth of feelings of inauthenticity in the population. Pressure within macrocorporate life for institutional survival creates increased motivation for macrocorporate mergers, formal and informal price fixing and

further "squeezing out" of smaller units from the market place. The proportion of individuals holding some controlling power over their world becomes progressively smaller. As more individuals become "exiled" into the limbo of being "cared for" at limited levels (in such categories as welfare, unemployment compensation, veteran's benefits, social security, food stamps, and "dropping out" while depending on the establishment) and as the birth rate among those who are otherwise powerless increases while the general birth rate declines, a pattern of increased "apartheid" becomes evident. (See Wald, Davis, Bureau of Census and Bernard) At high government, macrocorporate and institutional levels all actions are relatively secret and not communicated to what can be considered a massive excluded population. Such secrecy is pervasive and operates even between corporate units within the same combine (see Lifton). It is thus institutionally debilitating and further constricts control of corporate entities. Although "appartchnick" power may, at times, be shaken by a Watergate inquiry, such pressures for public scrutiny are temporally limited, quick to lose focus, and seldom go beyond a peripheral wing of the central halls of power (Whalen and Lukas). Civil rights programs, class actions and consumer efforts may provide redress for a limited few, but the effect is not more than that of a soldering iron attacking an iceberg. It could be hypothecated that secrecy and institutional uncontrolability is proportional to institutional size. Sharpe makes it clear that "bigness" is "here to stay" as long as the productivo but drifting society exists. For the majority excluded from meaningful decision-making and usefulness in the society Goodman believes that there is a growing status of being "not quite persons."

The increase of "apartheid" between the few in decision-making circles (see Bell 1965 and Parker) and those who are excluded may be clouded by the

numbers enlisted to maintain social control and provision programs. Such a society is probably less in danger of explosion than implosion. In a sense, the macro-state composed of macrocorporations is as able to deal with problems as was the dinosaur which had a body too large, a feedback system too rudimentary, and a controlling brain system too small for survival. (See Encyclopedia Britannica)

Ontologically viewed, America has moved through developmental phases which have paralleled its growth. The macrocorporate or drifting phase may be the point at which one may expect a metamorphic change which resolves the problem of inauthenticity concommittant with "big society." Alternatively, Americans might resort to charismic leadership or some other non-answer to the problem in the search for a stable society. In a nation still imbued with much of the spirit observed by deTocqueville a century past, it is quite probable that a metamorphosis is the more likely event.

With increasing alienation brought on by the increased stresses on the individual occasioned by an ever rising inflation, ever increasing impotency of individuals to deal with the increasing complexity of living in a mechanistic technological society along with a general lowering of the quality of life and a loosening of a commonality of values and shared goals. Pressures by labor organizations and consumer groups can only temporarily improve the options of some but at the expense of all, and thus cumulative alienation can be expected to rise. This problem in the United States can be expected to become worse, and the motivating of disenchanted employees, unemployed and unemployable youth, isolated subcultures of dependent populations and an ever resentful taxpayer pressure will continue to be a major task of a leadership which has until now been able to resolve few of the related problems.

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